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STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSQUR NORÐRLANDA

[Continued]

II. THE HERVARAR SAGA

1. *The Manuscripts*.—The only MSS of value for the text of this saga are the following: (1) AM 544 4to perg., from the beginning of the fourteenth century (*Hauksbók* = *H*); (2) Gl. kgl. sml. 2845 4to perg. of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, from the fifteenth century (= *R*); (3) AM 281 4to pap., from the close of the seventeenth century (= *h*¹); (4) AM 597b 4to pap., from the latter half of the seventeenth century (= *h*²); (5) AM 203 fol. pap., from the seventeenth century (= *b*); (6) Salanska saml. 80 8vo papp. of the University Library in Upsala, from the middle of the seventeenth century (= *u*). Besides these there are a great number of paper MSS of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose complete worthlessness has only recently been demonstrated, many of which will have to be mentioned in the course of our investigation.

That *H* and *R* represent two mutually independent versions of the saga was recognized by Bugge,¹ who published a good edition of these two MSS.² Unfortunately both MSS are defective, *H* in its present condition concluding shortly after the second riddle (Bugge, p. 236), while *R* contains all the riddles and a portion of the following, but also lacks a considerable part of the saga's conclusion. Now various paper MSS contain a satisfactory conclusion of the saga. The question how these paper MSS are related to each other and to the two parchments has never been satisfactorily answered.

That *h*¹ and *h*², which contain only the riddle-episode, i.e., lack the beginning as well as the end of the saga, are derived from *H* at a time when this MS extended at least as far as the end of the riddles was assumed by Bugge. In this he was undoubtedly right, so far as one can conclude from his edition (this selection is preceded and followed in both *h*¹ and *h*² by other matter from *H*), though an interpolation of additional riddles in a copy of *H* used for *h*¹ and *h*² is of course not absolutely inconceivable. For the conclusion of the saga also Bugge (pp. 268 ff) was inclined to believe that the paper MSS

¹ In fact still earlier by Rafn, *Fas.*, I, p. xxviii, 1829.

² *Norrøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold*, 203 ff., 1873.

which he used went back to *H*, but in support of this opinion neither he nor anyone subsequently has brought forward any valid evidence. Bugge was not at all clear about the relationship of these paper MSS to each other, the weak point of his edition and since then the most urgent problem connected with the study of this saga. This problem has since been attacked by Heinzel¹ and by Heusler and Ranisch.² In spite of both these considerable contributions to a solution of the problem a thoroughgoing study and comparison of all the paper MSS of the saga was still desirable, as Heusler and Ranisch acknowledged (pp. iv f.). This difficult piece of work has been accomplished with painstaking thoroughness by a Russian investigator, Professor I. Sharovolski. The results of his investigations are accessible in the introduction of a new edition of the saga published at the University Press in Kiev.³ The main result is the definitive proof that the MSS *i* (AM 192 fol. pap.), *k* (AM 202k fol. pap.), *l* (AM 582 4to pap.), *a* (AM 345 4to pap.) used by Bugge, as well as all the other paper MSS containing the conclusion of the saga with the exception of *u*,⁴ go back to *b* and are accordingly worthless. For the details I must refer to Sharovolski's work, where ample tables and lists of variants illustrate the sound method of research pursued. I have further tested the manuscript-material and convinced myself of the unassailable correctness of Sharovolski's conclusions (except those pertaining to *s*) on this point.

Sharovolski also recognized that *b* originated as a compilation from three different MSS and determined the character of each of these three.⁵ The method of procedure of the writer of *b* (Jón Erlendsson) can as a matter of fact be followed word for word. The value of *b* is so enhanced by Sharovolski's discoveries that all points bearing upon its history become important. Besides the *Hervarar* saga it contains the *Gautreks* saga, the *Hrólfs* saga *Gautreks*sonar, the *Dórsteins þáttur* *boejarmagns*, the *Egils* saga *einherda*, and the *Illuga* saga *Gríðarfóstra*, all from Jón Erlendsson's hand. Jón Erlendsson lived in Iceland 1632–72, was remarkably active as a copyist of Old

¹ "Über die *Hervarar* saga," *Sitz. ber. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, CXIV, 417 ff., 1887.

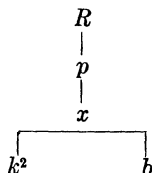
² *Eddica minora*, pp. vii ff., 1903.

³ *Skazanie o mečë Tyurfingë* (*Tale of the Sword Tyrfing*). I. Šarovolskago, Kiev, I, 1906.

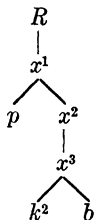
⁴ Sharovolski wrongly excepts also *s* (Holm. papp. fol. 120 of the Royal Library in Stockholm).

⁵ Cf. his table, p. lxxii.

Icelandic MSS, and is generally regarded as a good scribe.¹ In writing *b* he had three MSS of the *Hervarar* saga before him: the parchment *H*, a (not direct) copy of *R*, and a third MS, presumably a paper one, closely related to *u*. That he used the parchment *H* itself is clear, not only from the very exact reproduction of its text, but also through marginal glosses in his own hand which attest its use.² This parchment he did not, however, make the basis of his compilation, but used instead his paper MS of the R-class. That he did not use *R* itself is clear not only through variations from *R* and the interpolation of Björn Jónsson's commentary on the riddles, but more especially through the fact that an intermediate member is attested by a MS, Holm. papp. 4to 15 (= *p*) of the Royal Library in Stockholm, with which *b* has common mistakes plus additional new ones. This Stockholm MS agrees in extent of text and in the gap resulting from the loss of a leaf in *R* exactly with *R* itself, but lacks Björn Jónsson's commentary. That this commentary was contained already in the original of *b* is demonstrable through the second defective copy of the *Hervarar* saga in AM 202*k* fol. (= *k*²), where it is also present without its writer having contaminated the R-version with any other. Sharovolski illustrates the relationship of these MSS thus:



This agrees essentially with my own results except that I find unimportant variations in *p* compared with *k*² and *b* and further conditions in the last two MSS which suggest the following emendation:



¹ Cf. F. Jónsson in Salmonsens's *Konversationsleksikon* and in *Hauksbók*, p. lix.

² Cf. F. Jónsson in *Hauksbók*, p. vii.

However, as this is of no importance for the text I shall not develop it further. Björn Jónsson died in 1655; the close of his commentary bears the date: "14 Juny Anno 1641." *P* and *k*² are defective, i.e., they extend no farther than *R*, and where a leaf was lacking in this MS they have merely left a gap. Jón Erlendsson left a corresponding gap in *b*, then oddly enough the gap was filled in later in an unknown hand. The filling is obviously from *H*. The writer who inserted this has also left glosses on the margins of the preceding pages: corrections from *H* and also two additional strophes from *H*.¹ Besides these there are two other kinds of glosses: those already mentioned of Jón Erlendsson himself, giving in a few places divergent readings taken from *H*, not as corrections, but only as variants, and finally from page 110^r on a few scattered glosses in the hand of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (†1675), which prove to be entirely arbitrary emendations. In this way some of the variants in the paper MSS used by Bugge receive their explanation, for in *i* (written also by Jón Erlendsson) the glosses, except those originating with Jón Erlendsson himself, were taken into the text, while the writers of the other copies proceeded differently, none of them for example including the emendations of Brynjólfur Sveinsson.²

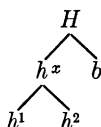
That the paper MSS in question represent a compilation of the *H*- and *R*-versions of the saga has really long been known; about the third MS used by the writer of *b* Sharovolski is the first to give us any information. This third MS belonged to a third version of the saga, the *U*-version. If the conclusion of the saga in *b* did not in itself demonstrate the use of a third MS, such use is amply attested by the fact that Jón Erlendsson began to copy this MS as the basis of his text. Before the beginning of the present text in *b* there is a short portion of the beginning of the saga entitled *Hervarar þattur hinn gamle*, which has also been copied in various MSS. If one compare this with the beginning of the other two versions, it is immediately apparent that in content and word it is entirely different from *R*, agrees somewhat more closely with *H*, but quite closely with *u*, i.e., its variations from *u* are at most such as represent mistakes or slight changes of copyists on the one side or the other, while those

¹ This hand appears only on pp. 93^v, 94^{r-v}, 95^r.

² Jón Erlendsson, as is well known, did much copying for Bishop Brynjólfur.

from *R* and *H* are of the sort indicating independent or at least considerably revised version. The concluding part of *b* agrees in the same way with *u*; not, however, the other parts, where its agreement with *R* or *H* is attended by great variation from *u*. That is to say, Jón Erlendsson began to copy a MS of the U-class, but after a short introductory portion left it and made a new beginning with new title and *x* (or *x*³) as his original. *H* extended at that time to the conclusion of the riddles (and death of Heiðrekr), but no farther. After this point Jón Erlendsson followed *x* (or *x*³) entirely as far as it went, in fact not quite to the end of *R*, then he continued from his MS of the U-class with which he had originally started. Most of the facts outlined above are elaborated by Sharovolski, though I have included nothing not confirmed by my own observations.

Of the three versions of the *Hervarar* saga recognized the R-redaction is critically represented by *R* alone, in which one leaf and the conclusion of the saga are irretrievably lost. The H-version is similarly represented by *H* alone, as far as it goes; for the remaining riddles the text must be constituted from *h*¹ and *h*² with the help of occasional readings from *b*. *H*¹ and *h*² do not go back directly to *H*, but to a copy of it, as Sharovolski has clearly proven.¹ The three MSS are then to be used according to the relationship:



Sharovolski has again raised the question whether *H* ever extended farther than to the end of the riddles and has, as I believe, answered it wrongly. On this point I would first refer to Jónsson's discussion in the introduction to the *Hauksbók* (p. xi). According to him a sheet of 8 leaves is probably lost, upon which were written the conclusion of the *Hervarar* saga and the beginning of the *Fóstbrœðra* saga. Jónsson reckons that the lost beginning of the latter saga may have filled 6 leaves, the conclusion of the former the other 2. With that everything would be accounted for, the *Hervarar* saga concluding then in this MS after the riddles with the statement of Heiðrek's

¹ I, pp. xi-xiv.

death. So far as the conclusion of the *Hervarar saga* is concerned, Heinzel had already in another way arrived at the same result.¹ This view has also been accepted by Mogk.² Now Sharovolski contends (pp. xv-xviii) that about $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the 8 lost leaves are not accounted for in this way. When he asserts that the lacking conclusion of the *Hervarar saga* (according to Heinzel, i.e., up to *Heiðrek's* death) would have filled only $1\frac{1}{2}$ instead of 2 leaves, he appears to be right. But how much of the beginning of the *Fóstbrœðra saga* is lost cannot be reckoned with the same degree of exactness, as the *H*-version of this saga is too independent of the others preserved. We do not even know with certainty whether the lost sheet consisted of 8 leaves, whether all its pages were written upon, or in fact whether more than one sheet may not have been lost and even something else have intervened between the two sagas.³ Under these circumstances such reckoning can lead to no positive results, though it is of course worthy of all consideration. In fact Sharovolski cannot find place for the whole conclusion of the *Hervarar saga* in this way, but conjectures that *H* contained the death of *Heiðrekr* and the battle of the Goths with the Huns, but not the genealogical list of the descendants of *Angantýr*. There is, however, no valid reason for this separation of parts, certainly no proof whatever that it was represented in any MS. There is, on the other hand, much that argues for the contrary conclusion, viz., that *H* never extended farther than *h*¹ and *h*² now do: (1) the probability emphasized by Jónsson that only so much of the saga in *H* is lost; (2) the title occurring in *H*: *Heiðreks saga ens vitra*, which accords with the fact that the *Hauksbók*-version also otherwise lays its emphasis on *Heiðrekr* and the riddle-contest, as is shown by the facts that: (a) this version contains more riddles than the other two; (b) it has arranged the riddles according to a more definite scheme; (c) it has passed briefly over a whole episode of the first part of the saga (in which *Heiðrekr* played no rôle) with a reference to the *Qrvar-Odds saga*. Sharovolski's attitude on this point is apparently determined by his conception of the secondary relation of the *U*-version of the saga to

¹ *Ueber die Hervarar saga*, 418 f., 1887.

² Paul's *Grundriss*, II², 839, 1904.

³ For the condition of the rest of the *Hauksbók* in these respects cf. Jónsson, *Hauksbók*, pp. ix ff.

the other two, the point which remains to be considered, upon which I cannot agree with him and upon which I have laid the main emphasis of my own studies.

As Sharovolski conceives of the U-version of the saga it is represented in its entirety by *u*, in parts by *b* and furthermore by *s*. Now *s* is a specimen of the *editio princeps* of the Hervarar saga (edited by Olof Verelius, Upsalæ, 1672) with marginal emendations written in by Guðmundur Ólafsson.¹ The view championed by Gödel² that these variants originated from a now lost parchment MS goes back to a note (in *s*) of G. E. Klemming,³ but is by no means confirmed by the internal evidence of the MS itself. Sharovolski had evidently not seen the *Eddica minora* of Heusler and Ranisch, whose editors had placed an entirely correct estimate upon *s* and were on the point of recognizing the independent position of *u*.⁴ They had clearly enough established the fact that the marginal emendations in *s* came for the most part, if not exclusively, from a MS of the *b*-class. Sharovolski, by the way, noted the same fact, but was misled by it into taking *s* and *u* together as representatives of a version contaminated from *R* and *H*, a relationship which could apply at most to *s*, but not at all, as we shall show, to *u*. That the variants in *s* cannot possibly have come from a MS of the same version as that of the text they are intended to supplement, i.e., of the U-version, is clear enough from the nature of the variants themselves, for they often form plus-passages of considerable extent or differ otherwise in such ways as only different versions can, the last part of the saga where *H* and *R* have left no representatives being of course exceptional in this particular. There is no evidence whatever that Guðmundur Ólafsson was in any way concerned about producing a more original text, but on the other hand, considerable that he was seeking to supplement the text of the Verelius edition.⁵ What changes he has made (other than additions) were apparently dictated by the desire to produce a text showing at least a fair degree of consistency. The additions had accordingly to be so adapted at beginning and end that they

¹ Translator vid Antikvitetskollegiet i Stockholm, 1681-95.

² *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i Sverige*, 166; *Katalog*, 252.

³ Librarian in the Royal Library in Stockholm till 1890.

⁴ Cf. their table, p. viii.

⁵ An interesting light is cast upon his method of work by the first edition of the Vilkinsa saga; cf. Bertelsen, *Þiðriks saga af Bern*, pp. lvii f., 1911.

fitted. Otherwise these glosses (*s*) show everywhere the mistakes of *b* and everywhere the same relation to *R* or *H* as *b*, so that there is no justification of the slightest doubt that Guðmundur used a MS belonging to the *b*-class. The proof of this fact offered by Heusler and Ranisch¹ rests entirely upon the stanzas devoted to the battle of the Goths and the Huns. These occur in the concluding part of the saga, i.e., that lacking in both *H* and (except the first few stanzas) *R* and accordingly originating in all MSS from the *U*-version. The nature of *s* is shown much more clearly by a comparison of passages from other parts of the saga with *u* (or even with Verelius' edition of the saga), at the same time taking into consideration *b* and its copies. The good tables of Sharovolski are admirably adapted to make clear this relationship. For example his Table I (pp. liv ff.) gives (Nos. 5-97) common variants of the *b*-group of paper MSS from *b*'s chief source, *R* (these variants go back in part to *H*, but are in part copyists' mistakes or alterations taken over from *x*, as already noted). In the following cases where Verelius does not agree with *b*, *s* has the reading of *b* inserted on the margin: Nos. 8, 10, 16, 21, 26, 27, 28, 31 (the reading of *s* shows here a further corruption of that of *b*), 49, 51, 53, 55, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 85, 95 (with further change), 97. From Sharovolski's Table V (pp. lxii f.) this source can be still more closely determined. In the latter table are given common variants (Nos. 1-31) of *k*¹, *l*, AM 359b 4to pap. and *a* from *b* and *i* (the first four go back to a somewhat elaborated version of *b*). Here the following cases bear witness to the insertion of readings from this secondary group of the *b*-version on the margin of *s*: Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 19, 23, 24, 25. The result of this test agrees then exactly with the conclusion of Heusler and Ranisch, that *s* is to be referred not only to the *b*-group of paper MSS, but also definitively to the subgroup represented by *k*¹ and *l*. To illustrate the matter clearly I add a comparison of the different readings of the first riddle and the answer to it, where the relationship is shown so clearly as to render further comment superfluous (see table on p. 85).

The relationship so clearly illustrated in the table is apparent throughout the saga and the glosses of *s* are thereby divested of any

Cf. *Eddica minora*, p. ix, and the table, p. viii.

value. Of course the possibility of some of the glosses having come from other sources is not excluded by the recognition of this fact, as Guðmundur Ólafsson might have drawn upon various sources of information, but I can find no indication that such was the case. Hardest to explain is the one case that is responsible for the overvaluation of *s*. Peringskiöld cited in his edition of the *Vita Theodorici* of Cochlaeus (Stockholm, 1699, p. 352) a passage from a parchment MS of the *Hervarar saga* in the Stockholm "Antikvitetsarkiv,"

<i>R</i> (Sharov., p. 50)	<i>H</i> (Sharov., p. 19)	<i>b</i> (Variants Compared with <i>R</i>)	Verelius, p. 143	.
Hafa uilldag	Hafa ek þat villda	<i>mundag</i>	Hafa vil eg i* dag	<i>mundak for vil eg</i>
þat i giær hafda;	er ek hafða i giær;		þad i giær†;	<i>haffak after giær</i>
uittu, huat þat uar:	konvng, gettv hvat þat var:		viter† huad þad var?	<i>vittu for viter</i>
lyða lemill,	lyða lemill	<i>semill</i>	lyða levill¶	<i>semill for levill</i>
orda tefill	ok orða tefill		oc orða tefill	<i>oc crossed out</i>
ok orða upphefill.	ok orða vpphefill.		oc orða uppefill.	
færi honum	fai hanvm		Færit¶ honum	
mungat; þat lemr	mvngat, þat lemr	<i>semr</i>	mungat: þui—**	<i>þad semur for —</i>
margra uit, ok	margra manna	<i>margra manna vit</i>	margra vit; oc	
margir eru þa	vit: svmir		marger mæla þa	<i>eru þa margare, er mungat ferist a for mæla þa mart</i>
margmargari, er	verða marg-	<i>mælgare</i>	mart: enn sumer	
mungat ferr aa,	mælltir þar af,		suefast i mali.	
eN sumum uefst	en svvmv			<i>sumum wefst tunga, ad ecke werdur ad orde</i>
tungaN suo, at	tvngv bragð.	<i>tungu (suo lacking)††</i>		<i>for sumer suefast i mali</i>
ecki uerdr at ordi.				

* The *i* is lacking in the MS *u*.

† The MS *u* has *hafdag* after *giær*.

‡ In *u* reads *vittu*.

¶ For *lemill* in

|| For *færi* in *u*.

** The word omitted is in *u* very difficult to make out; it looks like *lemt*, but was very likely intended for *lemr*.

†† Of these seven variants in *b* Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 are found also in *k*², i.e., Jón Erlendsson took them from *x*(*x*³). Nos. 4, 6, 7 he took from *H* as may be noted.

which agrees with a gloss in *s*, but is not found elsewhere in the MSS of the *Hervarar saga*. With reference to this MS Peringskiöld said: "De priorum istorum migrationibus redituque ad suos luculenta atque insignia exstant Testimonia in Historia Hervarae, quae in pergameno scripta inter codices Regii Archivi Antiquitatum exstat, plurimis sane in locis auctior prae exemplari illo, quo usus fuerat Cl. Verelius in editione ejusdem operis." The citation follows, its language not strongly suggesting an old MS, as Heusler and Ranisch note, while citations supposedly from the same MS in Rudbeck's *Atländ* agreeing with *s* do not differ from *b* or *H* (only cannot have originated with *R*). We do not know with absolute certainty that the MS used by Rudbeck was the same as the one mentioned by Peringskiöld. Rudbeck speaks only of an old "Codex" loaned him by Peringskiöld; he does not say how old it was, nor even that it was a parchment. Peringskiöld does appear to speak of a parchment from the Royal "Antikvitetsarkiv." It may well be that both used the same MS as Klemming supposed, but if that is the case Heusler and Ranisch are certainly right in their assertion that, if a parchment, it could at most have been only a late parchment of the seventeenth century. The citation in the orthography of Peringskiöld is as follows:

Thessu samtiida komu austan Asiæmenn oc Tirkar oc bigdu Nordurland. Foringiar theirrur ferdar voru brædur tveir het annar Odin en annar Alfur. Their bygdu sidan badir mestann luta Nordur Halfunnar: bygde Alfur hinn Eystra part og kalladi eptir sinu nafne Alfheima. Thad Folk sem thar fæddest var fidara (for *fridara*) adrum Folke. Hin vestra lut Nordur halfunnar bygde Odin og kallade Mannheima eda Mannheim. Bader their Brædur voru Kongar. Odin formadr theirra atti marga Sonu urdu their aller mikler menn och riker.

Of this the first and last sentences are those of Verelius' text; the rest corresponds with the gloss of Guðmundur Ólafsson. As the source of this gloss cannot be demonstrated from any MSS of the *Hervarar saga* preserved, so it cannot be traced to any other Old Norse literary work.¹ With reference to its source I can add nothing definite, but would call attention to the following facts as supporting

¹ For Old Norse material of this nature I can refer to Heusler, "Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im altisländischen Schrifttum," *Abh. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1908, *phil. hist. Kl.*, III.

the contention that it emanates from a source other than the U-version of the *Hervarar* saga. If the first and last sentences of the above citation be taken together, with the omission of all intervening, as they occur in Verelius' text (i.e., in the U-version of the saga), we have a consistent expression of a current Old Icelandic conception.¹ But that inserted agrees neither with this conception nor with the last sentence, before which it is inserted, in that after the assignment of two brothers as leaders Odin is spoken of as sole leader. Furthermore Álf and Álfheimar have already been mentioned in the first chapter of Verelius' text without any such relationship to Odin. This with the other facts brought forth establishes pretty definitely two things: (1) the extraneousness of Ólafsson's source for this gloss; (2) the fact that Peringskiöld's source here was either *s* itself or a copy of it of some sort.²

Having freed *u* from the incumbrance of *s*, the independence of *u* over against *R* and *H* should next be established. The details of the interrelationship of the three versions I reserve for the next chapter. I will content myself here with the statement of a few facts leaving this independence of *u*, as it seems, beyond dispute. For one thing, the riddles differ in number and order of arrangement, not only in *R* and *H* (*h*¹, *h*²), but Verelius differs decidedly from both, as follows:³

<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> (<i>h</i> ¹ , <i>h</i> ²)	Ver.	<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> (<i>h</i> ¹ , <i>h</i> ²)	Ver.	<i>R</i>	<i>H</i> (<i>h</i> ¹ , <i>h</i> ²)	Ver.
1	1	1	14	29	16	27	28	.....
2	2	2	15	5	17	28	34	.....
3	3	3	16	25	14	29	35	27
4	4	4	17	26	24	30	36	28
5	9	20	18	20	8	.....	7	.....
6	14	9	19	21-22	7-5	.....	10	.....
7	8	10	20	22-21	5-7	.....	11	.....
8	16	15	21	21 (1 line only)	6	.....	13	.....
9	17	21	22	27	23	.....	15	.....
10	18	11	23	6	19	.....	30	.....
11	24	22	24	23	18	.....	33	.....
12	31	12	25	32	25	.....	.....	.....
13	19	13	26	12	26	.....	.....	.....

¹ Cf. Heusler, *op. cit.*

² On the reliability of Peringskiöld's statements cf. *Svenskt biografiskt lexicon*, xi, 143, 1845.

³ The numbers are those of Bugge's and Verelius' editions; corresponding horizontal position shows agreement of content.

The *H*-version, which had laid its emphasis on *Heiðrekr* and the riddle-contest, has some seven riddles and a concluding stanza (37) not found in the other versions, the *U*-version lacks two riddles of *R* and has an arrangement (after 1-4) entirely independent of either of the others.

Bugge (pp. 269 f.) noted in the paper MSS of the *b*-group a sudden improvement beginning slightly before the close of *R* and independent of *R*, which he wrongly ascribed to *H*. These better readings come from the *U*-version which, as already noted, was used by the writer of *b* beginning slightly before the end of *R*, whose last page is not easily legible.

One other point I would mention in this place which seems to me absolutely conclusive as to the independence of the *U*-version: the episode common to the *Hervarar* saga and the *Qrvar-Odds* saga. This is passed over briefly in *H*, as already noted, without verses and with a reference to the *Qrvar-Odds* saga. The version of it found in *u* cannot possibly then go back to *H*; it must either have originated from *R* or be independent. If it shows better readings than *R*, how are these to be explained? As a criterion we have, apart from the usual considerations, the possibility of comparison with the text of the *Qrvar-Odds* saga. The episode in question is related in *R* in chap. ii and part of iii (Bugge's edition, pp. 300-310). In *H* the few details given are found in chap. iii (Bugge's edition, pp. 207-9). Verelius' edition based upon *u* contains the episode with verses in chaps. iv, v. The *Qrvar-Odds* saga (ed. Boer, Leiden, 1888) contains the same episode in chaps. 26-29 of the *M*-version. If we confine our attention to the stanzas, which present the clearest testimony, we find them preserved as follows:

Q-O (<i>M</i>)	Herv (<i>R</i>)	Herv (<i>V</i>)	Q-O (<i>M</i>)	Herv (<i>R</i>)	Herv (<i>V</i>)	Q-O (<i>M</i>)	Herv (<i>R</i>)	Herv (<i>V</i>)
1	.....	.....	8	1 ³ , (2 ²), 4	1 ³ , (2 ²), 5	15	.....	.....
2	.....	.....	9	5	6	16	7	8
3	.....	.....	10	6	7	17	10	12
4	1 ¹⁻²	1 ¹⁻²	11	.....	.....	18	.....	.....
5	2 ³⁻⁴	2 ³⁻⁴	12	11	11	19	8	9
6	3	3	13	9	10	20	12	13
7	.....	.....	14	.....	.....	.....	2 ¹	2 ¹
						.....	.....	4

As can be seen from the foregoing, Ver. has essentially the same verses as *R* and in nearly the same order, except for an inferior fragment (4) found in neither *R* nor Q-O. If one were to assume that the writer of the U-version of the *Hervarar* saga had himself employed the *Qrvar-Odds* saga, which is practically inconceivable, he might certainly have been expected to take more of the stanzas. That the U-version does, however, by comparison with Q-O actually contain many better readings than *R* is abundantly shown in the following table, where Verelius and Bugge are used respectively for the U- and the R-version and Boer's Leyden edition of *M* for the *Qrvar-Odds* saga:

<i>R</i>	Ver.	Q-O (<i>M</i>)
4. Einn skal uid einn eiga, nema se deigr, huastra drengia, eda hugr bili.	5. Eirn skal vid eirn Orosto heya Hraustra Dreingia Nema hugur bili.	8:3-4. einn skal vip einn eiga orrostu hvatra drengja, nema hugr bile.
5:2b. margar undir	6:2b. Miklar undir	9:2b. miklar under
5:3b. ok in sida brynja*	6:3b. En a hlid brinia	9:3b. en á hlip brynja
7:1-2. Aktag at fullu fim tun saman, enn ek pui alldri unda radi;	8:1-2. Att' eg a folldu Fim bu saman, Enn eg unda þo Alldrey a ladi;†	16:1-2. Átta ek á foldo fimm bú saman, en pui unda ek allvel láði;
8:1-2. Drecka i haullu huskarlar miod meniom gófgér at mins faudr;	9:1-2. Dreckur med Iofri Iarla meingi Ol gladliga Ad Uppsaulum;‡	19:1-2. Drekr meþ jofre jarla menge ol glaplega at Uppsölom;
9:1. Huarf ek fra huitri hlads bedgungi	10:1. Leiddi mig hin¶ hvita Hilmers dotter	13:1. Leidi|| en hvfta hilmes dótter
10:4. er ek eigi kem til Uppsala.	12:4. Er** hun sidan Sier mig†† aldrej.	17:4. er uid sidan siaumst alldregi.‡‡

* Alliteration lacking.

† As line 2 *u* had originally *enn eg pui alldr dollða a ladi*.

‡ For these lines *u* seems to have read originally *Drecka I hollu huskallar med meya giædder ad myns fodr*. This was crossed out and the reading given by Verelius written over it in a different hand.

¶ For *hin* the MS *u* has *en*.

|| The *mik* lost in this MS is preserved in others of Q-O.

** The MS *u* has *ef* instead of *er*.

†† The MS *u* has *mig sier* instead of *Sier mig*.

‡‡ Other MSS of Q-O read *at (ef) hún sidan mik sér alldregi*.

That in many of these cases Q-O (and therefore also Ver. and *u*) has the better reading as compared with *R* was admitted by Bugge;¹ in other cases Ver. agrees with *R* against Q-O and in still others is manifestly corrupt as compared with both. This leaves *u* independent of *R* and *H* and disposes entirely, as it seems to me, of Sharovolski's idea that the U-version was one contaminated from *R* and *H* at an earlier period than the compiled MS *b*, his error resting, as we have already intimated, upon the assumption that the U-version was best represented by *s*, which we have seen does represent a contamination, not, however, an earlier one, but *b* itself. So in the next stanzas of *R* (Nos. 13-17 of Bugge), which are preserved neither in *H* nor in Qrvar-Odds saga, but only in *R* and *u*, in 13:1*b* Bugge finds *uegsemd* of *u* preferable to *uegsems* of *R*, and in 17:3*a* *satt* of *u* to *fatt* of *R*, while it is by no means impossible that other of the considerably divergent readings of *u* may deserve the preference over those of *R*. So also in the other parts where stanzas are preserved in both *H* and *R* we have in *u* a decided possibility of control over corrupt readings, in that it often agrees with the one or the other but may differ from both. In its critical use for the verses, for which it has never been employed, not even by Heusler and Ranisch,² it may certainly be expected to vindicate itself as of independent value.

The U-version of the saga is represented then by but two MSS, both paper ones of the seventeenth century, by *u* throughout its length, by *b* for a short portion of the beginning, stopping abruptly in the first lines of Verelius' fourth chapter (p. 50) with *Arngrímz sýner ect.* and for the conclusion beginning in Verelius' chap. xvii (p. 162, l. 15; Bugge, p. 269, l. 12, p. 348, l. 20) and being used to the end of the saga. From the great care exercised by the writer of *b* as already described we must infer that its original of the U-version is accurately copied, but there is unfortunately no reason to suppose this original was other than a slightly older paper MS which has otherwise disappeared. The MS *u* is described in Gödel's catalogue of the Uppsala MSS.³ It is a small octavo book with parchment

¹ *Norrøne Skrifter*, 302 ff. in footnotes; cf. also Heusler and Ranisch, *Eddica minora*, pp. xxxvii ff., 49 ff.

² That they used it for the "Lied von der Hunnenschlacht" was inevitable, as most of this is preserved only through the U-version.

³ *Katalog öfver Upsala Universitets Biblioteks fornländska och fornnorska handskrifter*, 65 f., 1892.

binding and contains at the beginning the *Hervarar saga*, following it the *Háttalykill Lopta ríka Guttormssonar*, the *Herrauðs saga ok Bósa*, the *Vinavisur*, and the *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*. It is poorly written and shows copious entries on the margins in different hands —of proverbs and matter largely foreign to the text, though the text has itself been “repaired” by various persons, readings being crossed out and others substituted, sometimes in the hand of the original writer, sometimes in other hand or hands, so that it is not always easy to make out what the original contained. The latest reading was usually taken by Verelius, but that he allowed himself considerable freedom in his use of the MS can be noted from the passages cited above. Under these circumstances the conditions for the restoration of the U-version of the saga are not wholly favorable. The MSS of the “*Salanska Samlingen*” were turned over to the University Library in Upsala in 1717. The MS *u* bears the record of having been given to Petrus Salan by Jacob Reenhielm. The latter received it from the Iclander Jónas Rugman in 1666, who had brought it with him from Iceland in 1658.¹ The copyist of the *Hervarar saga* in this MS was according to Rugman “Páll Hallson ad Nupufelli.” If this is correct, the Páll Hallsson referred to must be the one who spent the latter part of his life as librarian and preacher in Denmark († 1663).² His father was Hallr í Möðrufelli, but he had a half-brother Halldór (Hallsson) í Núpufelli.³

As to the exact relation of *b* and *u* to each other it is clear enough from the poor quality of *u* and its occasionally corrupt readings as compared with *b* that *b* is not a copy direct or indirect of *u*. As *b* contains only part of the U-version *u* cannot of course go back to *b*; it has furthermore correct readings in places where *b* is corrupt. The two MSS are then to be used in the relation:



and the age of *U* can best be discussed in the next chapter. That they go back to a copy of *U* (*u*^x) rather than the original would be

¹ Cf. Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i. Sverige*, 80 ff., on Rugman.

² Cf. J. Worm, *Forsøg til et Lexicon over danske, norske og islandske lærde Mænd*, III, 286, 1784; Finni Johannaei *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae*, III, 585 f., 1775; Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isl. litt. i Sverige*, 108, 1897; Sharovolski, *op. cit.*, XLI, 1906.

³ Cf. Jón Espolin, *Islands Arbækur*, VI, 99, 1827.

shown by common mistakes of a sort referable only to a scribe. For this comparison Sharovolski's edition is best employed, as it alone has properly appreciated *b*. I note the following cases.

P. 65, No. 28: *u* gunj, *b* gune; for *gumi*.¹

P. 66, No. 7: *u* fagrar vigar, *b* fagrar veigar; both lacking alliteration with the preceding half-line *Eg mun biöða þier*.

P. 66, No. 9: both *b* and *u* meidna for *meiðma*.

P. 67, No. 10: *u* þia, *b* þya; for *þýjar* (Bugge).

P. 67, No. 31: both *b* and *u* diarfliga; gives no alliteration; Bugge suggested *fræknliga*.

P. 68, No. 3: *u* fromlega, *b* franliga; no alliteration; Sharovolski suggests *hvatliga*.

P. 69, No. 16: both *b* and *u* gauta; for *Gota*.

P. 73, No. 13: both *b* and *u* dingiu; for *Dy'lgju*; the latter form occurs correctly in other places in the same MSS.

P. 75, No. 1: both *b* and *u* meidna; for *meiðma*.

P. 75, Nos. 9, 10, etc.: *u* vydfarna, *b* Widfarna; for *viðfaðma*.

P. 76, Nos. 7, etc.: both *b* and *u* Gotlandi; for *Gautlandi*.

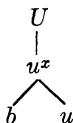
P. 76, No. 8: *u* framar, *b* framan; for *fýrr* (Bugge).

P. 77, Nos. 21, etc.: *u* Eivindur, *b* Eyvindur; for *Eymundr*.

P. 77, No. 24: both *b* and *u* Astrudur; for *Ástriðr*.

P. 78, No. 24: both *b* and *u* þreingdu; for *þrængðu*.

These cases are, whatever objection might be made to a few of them individually, qualitatively and quantitatively sufficient to demonstrate the relationship in question:



That *u^x* was a late paper MS showing modern Icelandic forms has been asserted by Heusler and Ranisch and developed at length by Sharovolski in connection with another point. While it is conceivable enough that two modern Icelandic scribes may have introduced the same features of modern Icelandic orthography independently of each other, the correspondences are so general and in some cases of such a sort that one is inclined to agree that *u^x* must have been a paper MS rather than a parchment.

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¹ The *gume* of Bugge's *i* originated in an emendation of Brynjólfur Sveinsson found on the margin of *b*.